

In fact

For The Millions Who Want a Free Press

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George Seldes, Editor

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Free or Corrupt Press?

GRAHAM DOLAN, editor CIO News, Int'l Union Mine and Smelter Workers Edition, wires IN FACT: "Recommend Heywood Brown's Toronto Guild convention free press resolution as working newspaperman's creed in celebrating your admirable Free Press Week. As a Chicago Tribune alumnus (i e, fired) I agree Labor press must take the lead in delousing American journalism."

This is the resolution Mr Dolan refers to, adopted by American Newspaper Guild Convention, Toronto, 1938:

Working newspaper men and women have always had a vital interest in the freedom of the press. Without freedom of honest expression our jobs may be shameful. We want to have the privilege of telling the truth as we see it. And so the Guild continues to war against any kind of censorship. But if the freedom of the press comes to mean no more than the right of a newspaper owner to print that news which pleases him and to spike important occurrences which irk him, then "freedom" may be a fine word which has lost its savor. And we are discussing a fact and not a theory. The Guild stands for freedom of the press and it also stands for the principle which gives vitality to freedom. We urge a recognition and a support of all organized efforts to preserve the integrity of the news. The wells of information must not be poisoned.

An Editor Writes

ALTHOUGH big city press generally printed Newspaper Week hokum, many country papers refused. The editor of a small but free Wisconsin paper writes IN FACT: "We are celebrating Nat'l Newspaper Week by just putting our fingers down our throat."

W C Bentz, journalist, asks who put the Nat'l Newspaper Week ad in Estero, Florida, papers; they are signed by "Appreciate America Inc."

An IN FACT Scoop

ON Mar 17 IN FACT published one of its big scoops: documentary evidence that the British Purchasing Commission refused to employ Jews, Negroes and Irish Catholics. The evidence was an application card filed with the NY State Employment Service by British agency for statistical typist which was checked: "White, Christian . . . Ulster Irish." IN FACT published a photostat of the card, one of a dozen we had obtained. On Oct 3 the NYD News reproduced the same card, in a long Washington story bearing out in detail IN FACT's original expose.

Isolationist Senator Tobey of NH brought up the matter at movie inquiry in order to further confuse the issue. IN FACT published the evidence to prove that a New York official institution—affiliated with the US Social Security Board—almost daily sends out employment slips on which prejudice is written. This cannot be questioned. Now Arthur Motley, assistant chief of the

Hearings on Press Control of Radio Hushed Up; Testimony Shows Press, Radio, Unfair to Public

THE important thing about the Gallup and other public opinion polls which is not printed in the newspapers is the fact that the American people form their views on entering the war or staying out, giving aid to the nations fighting Fascism or not aiding, supporting the cause of labor (the Wagner Act for example) or fighting their own best interests, because the newspapers and radio hourly and daily tell them what to think and what to do.

Inasmuch as it is generally admitted that public opinion rules and that press and radio largely make public opinion, the present hearings before the Federal Communications Commission in Washington on the divorce of radio from newspaper ownership or control should be the most important thing in the world for the American people, next to the world fight against Fascism.

However, almost nothing is heard about it.

Radio Aids Press in Fooling America

The main difference between press and radio so far as the making of American opinion is concerned is this: that when the radio lies, falsifies, distorts, attacks labor, liberal and progressive movements and institutions, a protest may frequently result in the Federal Communications Commission ordering the station to give the victims equal time to reply. The press does not permit its victims space to reply unless faced with the loss of real money in a libel suit.

However, this does not mean that justice is established. A man like Boake Carter can smear labor for years before protest has any effect, a man like Wythe Williams can apologize for Hitler's failure to take Moscow in 30 days, a man like Charles E Coughlin can pour out racial and religious hatred for years, a man like Congressman Ford can falsify the facts about the CIO, a man like Martin Dies can speak week after week smearing and slandering consumers' institutions, liberal writers, labor unions, a man like Lowell Thomas can make snide remarks about labor and especially the CIO, a man like Edwin C Hill can do likewise, and all the forces of reaction can use the radio for thousands of hours to manufacture vicious public opinion, and little is done to counteract this propaganda.

In the case of Congressman Parnell Thomas the League of American Writers insisted that Columbia permit its vice-president to use 15 minutes to point out the falsehoods of this Dies committee member; in the case of Rep Leland Ford of California IN FACT's protest to the FCC, in which the CIO joined, resulted in a quarter of an hour rebuttal. But things like this do not adequately counteract the hours of poison in the air.

Publishers May Monopolize Public Opinion

Ever since radio came into existence newspaper publishers have feared it may interfere with their business, either by taking advertising money away, which it has done, or by becoming a substitute for the daily press, which it hasn't yet done. Television, and the teletype printer, which produces a small newspaper in your home (tried out by St Louis Post-Dispatch) indicate future rivalry. This matter is of no concern to the American public. The real danger is the publishers' monopoly of public opinion through control of both mediums, press and radio. President Roosevelt himself has in one of his radio broadcasts, at a time 90% or more of the press (outside the Solid South) was against him, approved the use of radio to break through the barriers created by a biased press.

Today the publishers own or control more than a third of the radio stations. They are reaching out for the new FM stations. They will put up even a bigger fight when television becomes general. One reason for the FCC investigation is the charge that the newspaper publishers continue the same venal and corrupt practices on the radio they use in the press. Publishers deny this. But there is evidence it is true.

The FCC hearings on the proposal to divorce radio from press were resumed in Washington Sept 17. Although sensational testimony was given there was either suppression in the newspapers, or the publication of a few inconspicuous paragraphs, although this is a matter which affects the entire welfare

of this country. Certain venal papers used all testimony favoring press-radio ownership and suppressed the testimony against.

The most sensational documented charge against press-owned radio was made by Allan S Haywood, director CIO, who spoke (Sept 25, in case your newspaper suppressed it entirely) for not only 5,000,000 union men but for labor and democratic Americans in general. Haywood pointed out:

1. That time, whether paid or free, is frequently refused by radio stations when requested by labor organizations.
2. That such refusals "in some cases clearly reflect the bias of the station owners" and their fear of offending employer interests, chambers of commerce, etc.
3. That the most frequent reason given for denial is that the subject matter is "controversial" and in violation of the code of the Natl Assn of Broadcasters.
4. That free time, when granted, is not "an adequate substitute in frequency or regularity for the type of paid program which has been desired."
5. That some of the more glaring instances of discrimination have been committed by newspaper-owned stations.
6. That there is a general labor feeling that most of the daily press is biased against labor because of its big business ownership, its dependence on advertising and policies of newspaper publishers, and that labor therefore frequently seeks radio time to counteract the effects of this bias.
7. That the attempt by labor unions to obtain time on the air is frequently made for the purpose of offsetting propaganda and misrepresentation in the daily press.

Hearst Knocks Labor Off the Air

The same William Randolph Hearst who ordered his San Francisco editor to unite all editors of that city in a conspiracy to falsify the 1934 strike, to smear labor, pervert the news, and break the unions, is also owner of radio stations. In San Francisco the Hearst organization, in its greed for money and fear of advertisers, drove labor off the air. This evidence was given to the FCC during the present hearing, but it was not published in most newspapers.

Both the American Federation of Labor and the CIO were the victims. In this case again labor, unable to get a fair deal from the press, resorted to the radio to counteract the poisoned views of the newspapers, but found that owing to press control of radio there is no way of bringing the facts before the American people.

Letters were introduced in the Washington hearings exposing the whole sordid Hearst story. These passed between E M Stoer, then gen'l manager Hearst Radio and John S Brookes, then head of American Newspapers, Inc, the Hearst holding company. Stoer called the CIO's KYA program, "Labor On the Air" the "only dangerous program" of the station. Asked by the FCC to explain, Stoer said a dangerous program is one which "would tend to interfere with the revenue of the station". (As IN FACT has told its readers before, in every question of profit or general welfare, the newspapers take the side of profit.)

A letter was put in evidence from Clarence Lindner, publisher San Francisco Examiner, protesting labor program on Hearst station because it might interfere with Hearst newspaper profits. Lindner wrote: "The feeling against this stuff is getting intense . . . even advertisers are restive about it."

Also involved was San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, a typical reactionary California body. It had announced a plan finding work for all young people, and the radio program announced that. The C of C was flooded with applications and protested to station KYA. KYA sought a lawyer's opinion in order to break its contract but could find nothing in any script to cause justification. Whereupon this Hearst outfit interested the National Association of Manufacturers (the same organization which IN FACT exposed, from the O'Mahoney Monopoly investigation reports, as the most important pressure group working against the interests of the American people) to get up a program to fight the labor program. Hearst station also persuaded the AFL to buy time immediately after the CIO, the Hearst managers saying it would "show conflict in the labor movement, which would be a decided advantage". Contract with AFL was signed. But the AFL fooled Hearst because instead of attacking the CIO it attacked San Francisco companies which were unfair to organized labor.

Hearst brasscheck editor Lindner got furious. "A combination of the CIO and AFL each raising hell with business on KYA cannot be offset by any powder puff program suggested by the NAM," wrote Lindner.

Eventually Hearst was able to kill labor's point of view. His men censored the AFL program, and insisted the AFL quit. It had to. Then KYA refused to renew the CIO program, and thus labor was ruled off the air. Inasmuch as 90% of the San Francisco press is always anti-labor the people of this great city are as usual humbugged by the press, many minds perverted, and public opinion is formed contrary to the welfare of the city and nation.

Again: The Power of Advertising

Two important facts developed in the FCC hearings: the newspaper effort to restrict radio news despite public demand, and the power of advertising.

The NBC and CBS systems years ago made a deal with the American Newspaper Publishers Ass'n (the organization which Monograph 26 of Monopoly Investigation calls a paid agent of the manufacturers' pressure lobby) whereby news would be limited to two 5-minute periods daily. This action against the public was broken by Transradio Press, an independent company, which answered the public demand for more news by air. According to CIO News the publishers' radio committee showed a cynical disregard for public interest,

Social Security Board's US Employment Service Division, and Sir Louis Beale, former head of the British agency in NY are firing statements back and forth each trying to duck the blame for this discriminatory policy. Sir Louis says the British Commission did not request the employment agency to question applicants on their religious affiliations. Motley says the agency's policy is to query applicants on racial and religious points only when the employer definitely asks for such interrogation.

Newspaper Boy Day

OCT 4 was also Newspaper Boy Day when publishers celebrated fact they have succeeded in killing the amendment to the Constitution outlawing child labor, America's equivalent to forced labor in Fascist nations. Courtney Dinwiddie, sec'y, National Child Labor Comm, has sent following protest to many publications:

Such a celebration seems somewhat ironical, for in several States the newspapers have just completed drives to break down all protection for newsboys: (1) The Indiana Child Labor Law was amended to exclude newsboy carriers from all provisions (minimum age, hours, night work and requirement of a physical examination); (2) the passage of a street trades bill in Michigan, where there is no State regulation, seems to have been effectively blocked; (3) a California bill nullifying the present permit system and permitting 10-year-old boys to work on the streets until 10 PM was passed but vetoed by the Governor; (4) a Connecticut bill permitting boys to work on the streets without securing employment certificates fortunately was shelved.

The real celebration of "Newspaper Boy Day" should come when the newsboys throughout the country are protected under legal regulation.

25,000 Aren't "News"

FOR "National Newspaper Week" the NY papers blossomed out as usual with high-toned editorials on freedom of the press. Hearst's Mirror announced without a blush that "The Mirror has worked extraordinarily hard to bring the whole Truth and nothing but the Truth to our readers," etc. The NY Times took the position—not a bad idea for IN FACT readers—that the reader "can have a free press now and always if he continues to demand it." Other editorials in similar vein were plentiful. None of them alluded to the fact that a few days before, when a mass meeting of over 20,000 was held in Madison Square Garden—with 5,000 outside unable to get in—to demand the release of a famous political prisoner, not one of the commercial papers of NY printed a line about it.

O'Dwyer Challenged

AN equally illuminating instance of suppression, this time by burial, concerns the most sensational development to date in the NY election campaign. On Oct 1 Dist Atty O'Dwyer, candidate of Tammany, Coughlin, the Christian Front, Hearst, etc, revealed the main strategy of his campaign with a sweeping red-baiting attack on the American Labor Party. O'Dwyer's attack was duly front-paged all over the city. Next night Eugene P Connolly, retiring chairman NY County Committee of the ALP, exploded a bombshell in reply. Connolly declared, at a meeting of the ALP County Committee:

"About two months ago I was approached by two persons who are as close to O'Dwyer as any person could be. I had someone present with me. Mr O'Dwyer's emissaries asked me how I could help O'Dwyer line up labor sup-

port for him and also assist in building up a Fusion following for O'Dwyer.

"What they wanted me to do was to go about quietly working up that kind of support for O'Dwyer with the purpose of hitting Mayor LaGuardia below the belt." Connolly said he rejected the offers of the O'Dwyer emissaries and told them he was "backing LaGuardia to the hilt."

"I challenge O'Dwyer to deny that he asked for my support and to ask me to name the people, whom he knows so well, who came to see me," said Connolly, who is ALP candidate for Councilman.

Here is a firstclass sensation—one of the two major candidates charged with having sought, and in vain, the help of the ALP which he is now attacking. NY Times gave it a few inches on an inside page. NY Herald Tribune a little more. Post (whose publisher, George Backer, O'Dwyer had quoted favorably in his redbaiting broadcast) ignored it altogether. News, Mirror, Journal-American also printed nothing. O'Dwyer failed to take up the challenge that Connolly name O'Dwyer's emissaries. ALP plans to force the issue.

The American Legion

OUR report on the American Legion convention in Milwaukee is late but interesting. The Legion announced years ago it would fight all Isms, such as Communism, Nazism, Fascism. It spent tens of thousands of dollars fighting Communism but, according to an investigation by the Civil Liberties Union, never spent one cent, printed one booklet, or issued one word against Fascism. In Milwaukee the Legion supported the Roosevelt program of all aid to all nations fighting Fascism, including Britain, China and Russia. A noted Milwaukee newspaper guildsman writes IN FACT:

"It is not to be assumed that because the Legion favored aid to Russia it has changed its traditional position. It is still a reservoir of reaction from which the man on horseback, if he appears, will draw strength. This, I believe, is true however: the Legion, if it attempts to embark on a native Fascist program, will break itself. The more it projects itself into the field of political economics actively, the less it will perform its primary function of veteran welfare, on which its members agree, and the more often it will run into the conflicting political and social viewpoints of its membership. The 'kingmakers' (ie, the controlling group of high officials, bankers, insurance men, corporation lawyers, etc) did not dare, however much they may have wished, to take any other stand but in support of the Administration.

The smell of oldtime Legion convention corruption was evident when a resolution was passed commending "the Hearst newspapers for their continued

and in the privacy of FCC hearings "the publishers admitted the power of advertisers over the press—an influence which they strenuously deny in public."

To fight Transradio, which the press smeared by calling an "outlaw", the publishers threatened not to list the stations using it. And here is where the power of advertising worked the other way. One of the big stations is WOR, owned by owners of Macys, NYC's largest dep't store advertiser. Here is a transcript of the testimony of Hearst INS representative Joseph Connolly:

"The NY newspapers continued to print the programs of WOR which ignores this agreement, and they continue to print the publicity of WOR. It is pointed out that there is an embarrassment in this particular situation because WOR is owned by Macy's. . . .

"The same is true in Boston, where the Sheppard stores (Yankee network) ignored the Press Radio Bureau and are chiefly responsible for the support of the new radio newsgathering enterprise (Transradio)."

Although the press is suppressing or printing only a few paragraphs about the radio investigation, the CIO according to its official publications, regards the hearings of utmost importance in relation to free speech and real freedom of the press "or rather to the lack of these freedoms that permit a minority to dictate to the people."

"The thinking of the American people on labor, social and political questions is influenced more than almost anything else by what they read in the papers or hear on the air," continues CIO News (Sept 29 1941). "The people who control these channels of information, which are as necessary in modern life as the water supply, therefore exercise tremendous and most undemocratic power over the thinking and consequent actions of the people."

"The CIO has been able to grow to its present strength in face of newspaper hostility and limited access to the air . . . Big Business publishers are bound to reflect their bias in their news handling as well as editorially wherever labor programs and policies seem to conflict with their long range interests as employers and with those of their financial backers and advertisers."

"It is therefore important that labor should be alert and vigilant to demand its full rights over the air and to fight every tendency of big business interests to make of radio broadcasting the same kind of anti-labor propaganda agency they have made of so much of the press."

(Editorial note, for those who like IN FACT editorial opinion: it is simply this: labor should buy radio stations and use them to fight the press when the press lies or falsifies the news against labor.)

Case History: Why the Air Must Be Free

Here is a concrete example of the situation. Some time ago 2200 General Motors workers in Oakland, Cal, plant called a strike to support 26 welders fired for protesting speedup. Company disregarded United Auto Workers contract with GM.

Naturally the California press did not present the cause of the strikers honestly. UAW therefore decided to tell the public the suppressed truth via advertisements. One, "Let's Do It the American Way" was placed in the Oakland Tribune, UAW local president Frank Slaby sending check for \$123.

But ad was jerked after first edition and union asked to remove lines: "Workers recognize inability to cope with the giant GM corp in the issuance of propaganda" and "GM demands that the workers produce a car a minute." Since General Motors is a big advertiser newspaper wouldn't run ad criticizing it, although ad was factual. Money was returned. (IN FACT has photostats.) Unable to get square deal in news columns or even to place ads, labor's only recourse is its own radio.

Pegler vs Coughlin; J T Flynn on Radio

At the present moment Westbrook Pegler, the bilious columnist of the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain and Mr Roy Howard's favorite bootlicker in his anti-labor campaign, is attacking all organized labor, whereas only a few years ago he attacked only a few individual racketeers and devoted his column to exposing Hitler, Mussolini, Franco and Coughlin. At a time all native Fascists were supporting Franco in Spain, Pegler wrote he would rather see Franco in hell than in church. Here is Pegler on the radio orator Coughlin:

"The President . . . knows that no single paper or chain of papers ever had half the influence in this country that Charles E Coughlin possessed when he was on top and that vicious liars who deal in untruth and innuendo enjoy a degree of license on the air which is unthinkable in the papers." (Source: syndicated column, May 12 1939).

Similarly John T Flynn who today cannot make up his mind whether or not to quit America First because of its domination by anti-Semites and native Fascists such as Lindbergh and Wheeler, was only recently one of the leading liberals of America. On May 4 1938 Flynn filed a serious protest with the radio commission, pointing out that the air was being used for widespread propaganda. He was opposed to stopping that, since it was "the very essence of freedom of speech," but "money groups" could monopolize it. Whereas the President in 5 years made only 13 fireside speeches, the Ford Co's anti-Semitic spokesman Cameron makes 26 speeches a year.

Flynn was particularly worried about news commentators. "Day after day"

Are You Moving?

Notifying In Fact directly rather than the Post Office brings best results. Cut out your name and address from the front page, write your NEW address on it and mail to us with 5¢.

On all correspondence dealing with your subscription, it is essential that you cut out and enclose your name and address from the front page.

Subscriptions begin two weeks after receipt of order. Nos. 1 to 6 inclusive, 12, 15 and 18 are no longer available.

he protested, "the news comes through cooked, colored, selected, guarded, censored by advertising agents. The newspaper of course has plenty of bias in favor of the advertiser. But the newspaper does not rent out its columns to advertisers to be run by them. The editorial dep'ts of even the poorest newspapers do operate under the dominion of certain ethical restraints which the outsider cannot quite understand. The advertiser has no such restraints. He is not likely to develop them.

"With this more or less clumsy overture, here is my suggestion. I urge that the CC establish a rule that time on the air may not be sold to advertisers for any other object than advertising of their products. . . . They may not use news broadcasters, news commentators or lecturers or speakers on social, political, economic or religious subjects. Their patter must be limited to entertainment or ballyhoo for their products. . . . It is in the interest of fairness, of truth and the public weal."

Civil Liberties' Constructive Plan

The American Civil Liberties Union states that "labor suffers discrimination on the radio beyond that of any other group. No company will make a contract with any labor organization for paid time and rarely do they accord free time." ACLU's radio committee sec'y, Henry J. Eckstein, appealed to labor unions to support bills in Congress providing:

- 1) that each radio station set aside regular periods of time for uncensored discussion on a non-profit basis for public programs and for education purposes;
- 2) that when any controversial subject is on such time, opposing viewpoints shall be given equal facilities;
- 3) that all radio stations shall keep complete records of all applications for time and all rejections;
- 4) that no regulations shall be made by the federal licensing authority interfering with free speech on the air.

A great opportunity for labor, now that Frequency Modulation (FM) channels are being given away, is seen by Marc Rosenblum of Newspaper Guild (CIO). A station serving a big city costs about \$20,000. The FCC has set aside 25 megacycles for exclusive use of educational non-profit institutions. Not only labor organizations but consumers, investors, educational and other institutions which are banned by the corrupt press could unite in the erection of one of the 700 stations FM now makes possible.

Press Extends Control of Radio

Here are extracts from the 1940 report, radio committee, American Newspaper Publishers Ass'n:

"An increase of 50 in the number of the standard radio stations on the air occurred during the past year. It is the largest increase yet since the year 1937 when 53 stations were added to the total. . . . The present total is 814 stations.

"Increase in the number of stations having newspaper interests identified with the ownership more than kept pace with the expansion of the field. . . . The 1940 Yearbook of Broadcasting Magazine lists 269 stations in this classification as against 238 . . . a year's gain of 31.

"Stations in which newspapers have a proprietary interest now constitute a third of all stations licensed. . . .

"The position of newspapers in the field of broadcasting is even more important than indicated by the above facts. Further emphasis is given to it when stations are classified according to prestige in their respective fields. . . . While radio as a medium has become a powerful commercial entity, an inevitable gravitation associates it increasingly and in many of its best uses, with newspaper operation. . . .

"Included among the applicants for FM licenses . . . are the Chicago Tribune, Detroit News, Worcester Telegram, St. Louis Star-Times, Winston-Salem Journal. The Milwaukee Journal is now operating under FM license."

The purpose of the present hearings is to consider not only the divorce of press and radio but also the end of the radio monopoly. A two-year investigation by a special committee of the FCC showed that NBC and CBS dominated the air. Highlights from the FCC report (all figures being of 1938):

More than half (350) of the 660 standard broadcast stations were on major networks.

The 660 stations were owned by 460 persons. But 87 of these persons (or 13% of the total) owned more than one station and did 52% of the total business of all commercial broadcast stations.

Of the \$18,864,784 net operating income of all stations, about half (\$9,277,362) went to the two major networks.

Profits of the two major chains may be seen in fact that NBC and CBS had aggregate network sales of \$44,313,778, but passed on only \$12,267,660 to the 263 independently controlled stations on their networks. And of this \$12 million fully half went to only 25 stations.

"Men who got rich out of radio were not named in this lengthy (1,300-page) government report," said Economic Notes, July 1940. "But we know them to include William Paley, head of CBS, who held 44.8% of its Class B stock in 1939 and received about \$510,000 in dividends from this class of stock alone last year. NBC's profits go to Radio Corp of America, its parent, headed by David Sarnoff."

support of the true Americanism principles and doctrines for which the American Legion fights." Hearst is the publisher of stories signed by Goering and Mussolini, having paid Mussolini \$1 a word for Fascist propaganda.

\$550 For a Life

UNITED American Spanish Aid asks IN FACT to inform its readers of a fund drive it is now carrying on—against an almost complete boycott in the press—to rescue 50 anti-Fascist fighters from concentration camps in France and Northern Africa. Dr. Edward K. Barsky is national chairman of the committee, 425 Fourth ave, NYC. "Today it takes \$550 to save the life of one of these heroes," he writes IN FACT. "Tomorrow ten times that amount may not suffice."

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933, OF IN FACT, published weekly at New York, N. Y., for October, 1941.
State of New York } ss.
County of New York }

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared George Seldes, who having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of IN FACT and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in Section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business managers are:

Publisher, In Fact, Inc., 19 University Place, New York, N. Y.

Editor, George Seldes, 10 University Place, New York, N. Y.

Managing Editor, None.

Business Manager, R. Euler, 19 University Place, New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

In Fact, Inc., 19 University Place, New York, N. Y.

George Seldes, Pres., 19 University Place, New York, N. Y.

Richard Branstetter, Vice-Pres., Easton Road, Westport, Conn.

Sam Beder, Sec'y-Treas., 19 University Place, New York, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the relation, the name of the person or corporation company as trustee or in any other fiduciary for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is (This information is required from daily publications only.)

GEORGE SELDES, Editor

ARTHUR C. DOUGHERTY, Notary Public (My commission expires March 30, 1942.)

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 23rd day of September, 1941.
(SEAL)

LET'S ROLL IN 25,000 NEW SUBSCRIBERS IN THE NEXT FOUR WEEKS

**Your Support Vital NOW to reach goal
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You've just read George Seldes' statement. Hundreds of you have been writing him letters of praise these past months on the fine job he is doing with IN FACT. Many of you have said, "Make your goal a million; not a quarter million." We're willing!

But there's no short cut, no "secret weapon" that can produce new IN FACT readers. And at less than a penny a copy, there's no IN FACT advertising fund. There is just one thing—YOU. It's you and your enthusiasm for IN FACT that will roll in the subs.

So roll up your sleeves—and let's roll in 25,000 new subscriptions in the next four weeks. Today the American people are more eager than ever before to know the real truth—the vital facts and information they will not get from the newspapers. IN FACT is the answer.

One new subscription sent in by each of our current readers will put us over the top with that quarter-million immediately. But we're accepting your challenge—25,000 subscriptions in the next four weeks will prove to George Seldes and all of us here at IN FACT that you're really serious about that million.

HERE'S HOW

1. On this page you will notice our offer of a free, autographed copy of George Seldes' most recent book, WITCH HUNT (selling in all book stores for \$2.75). A special arrangement has been made with the publishers, whereby we can give you WITCH HUNT for \$10.00 worth of IN FACT subscriptions sent in at one time, or in two groups of \$5.00 each.
2. Hundreds of IN FACT subscribers carry in their pockets, prepaid IN FACT subscription cards. It makes subgetting efficient and easy. For each dollar you send in, we will mail you four 25¢ or two 50¢ prepaid subscription postcards. You sell them to your friends and get your money back. They fill them out and mail them in to IN FACT. Buy \$10.00 worth and get an autographed copy of WITCH HUNT.
3. Write in for free sample copies that you can give or mail to your friends; or send us 10 names and 25¢ and we will mail each of them a sample copy, a coin card, a return envelope, and a letter saying that you, or "a friend" (please indicate which) believe they will want to subscribe to IN FACT.
4. Winter Soldiers: When IN FACT was first launched you obtained thousands of subscribers for us. Many of them have not renewed—they're procrastinators, but they'll give you their renewal if you ask them for it. Renewals are just as important as new subscriptions.

TO ALL UNION MEMBERS

George Seldes looks forward to the time when the bulk of IN FACT subscribers will come from the trade unions. This is natural because, in every issue, he presents labor's side of the story—the side that is consciously and wilfully misrepresented by the big business-controlled press. IN FACT fits in perfectly with the educational program of trade unions. Every union member is a potential IN FACT subscriber, and we believe he will be a more conscious union builder and booster if he reads IN FACT regularly. Over forty CIO and AFL unions have subscribed to IN FACT for their shop stewards and officials. We can't visit or contact every union—our forces and funds are limited. So we ask you to do the following:

Distribute sample copies to your membership.
Organize IN FACT committees in your union to get subscriptions.

Ask your union to subscribe for the shop stewards and officials.

Send for posters and special union subscription forms.

FREE

An autographed copy of George Seldes' latest book—WITCH HUNT.

For every \$10.00 worth of IN FACT subscriptions or renewals that you send in at one time—or in two lots of \$5.00 each—we will send you an autographed copy of the \$2.75 edition of WITCH HUNT.

Says the BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH-CLUB NEWS:

"George Seldes writes with his usual zest and gusto in his latest expose volume . . . Mr. Seldes assembles his facts about the admitted evil practice which flourishes among us, in impressive thoroughness . . . the documentation is hard to laugh off and the emotional drive which the author puts into his work certainly makes for reading which cannot be scoffed at."

WITCH HUNT is packed full of dynamite exposes. It has been boycotted by the book reviewers in most of the newspapers. You will want to own a copy of this sensational and important book.

IN FACT, Inc., 19 University Place, New York, N. Y.

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List additional subscribers on plain sheet of paper.

★ ★ ★ ★ to all the friends of *In Fact*,
our winter soldiers, our new subscribers:

THESE are the times that try men's souls," Thomas Paine wrote in the year before Valley Forge. "The Summer Soldier and the Sunshine Patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered. . . ."

The tyranny of a foreign government was destroyed by the Winter Soldiers of 1775 and the ensuing years. But today a large part of the world which believes in that freedom for which Paine wrote and Washington fought, sees an even more menacing "Tyranny like hell. . . ." and it is not so easy to conquer.

I am referring to the one force which today is synonymous with tyranny, and that is reaction, which is known as Fascism in many lands, Naziism, etc. And, unlike certain famous columnists and leaders who boldly ask all liberty-loving people to join in the war only against foreign forces which would set civilization back a thousand years or more if triumphant, I ask you who are Winter Soldiers and you who would be Winter Soldiers to volunteer for the war against that same reaction or Fascism here in America, and now.

ANYONE can be brave about naming the faraway enemy. Nor do I mean that the worst enemy right now is not the faraway one, namely Hitler and his colleagues in the Axis, Mussolini, the Mikado, Franco, and other Fascists. Certainly the first effort of men, money, munitions, must be to destroy this most imminent danger first.

It is another matter, however, to point out the same forces in America. I do not mean the German Bund or the Italian Fascist societies, little piddling groups about whom the fourflushing Congressman named Dies has made so much fuss. I mean the real forces of native Fascism which such men as Dies represent and which are cooperating with the biggest corporations, the biggest advertisers, the biggest newspapers and magazines, some notorious columnists, radio speakers who reach millions—organizations which under the guise of speaking for peace speak for reaction, Fascism and anti-Semitism, which are anti-labor, and anti-Negro, and which endanger America's democratic future. The foreign Fascists are easy to attack; they do not own or control more than a few unimportant societies; but the native Fascisti are some of the greatest powers in America.

NO big publication dares name them or attack them or expose them. IN FACT has done so from its very first issue. It has shown up the native Fascist powers in the Republican and Democratic parties; it has named the men and corporations who spend \$25,000,000 in one election and who control Congress. IN FACT gave the facts months before the O'Mahoney Monopoly Investigation named the National Association of Manufacturers as the most dangerous organization in America working against the "general welfare" of the American people. IN FACT has consistently exposed every reactionary, anti-labor, anti-liberal, anti-Negro, anti-progressive, anti-Semitic anti-general welfare movement, organization and leader,

whereas the publications feeding out of the trough of big business and big advertising have suppressed the news or even defended native Fascism.

Read any issue of IN FACT: it is documented, it lets the facts speak for themselves, and the facts chosen from thousands are those which tell the true story, the story the commercial, frequently venal and corrupt press does not tell because it dares not tell.

I think IN FACT has lived up to its promise of May 1940. From that time to now, some 5,000 persons have volunteered to work for this newsletter, and they have obtained from 4 to 250 subscriptions each, thus constituting what I have called the army of Winter Soldiers of IN FACT. They have made it a success and we have never been able to thank them enough for that.

NOW we are facing our second winter. And it is perhaps time to tell the inside story of IN FACT itself.

The price of a year's subscription, 52 issues, was set at 50 cents because we are not a profit-making publication and merely desired to break even. We did that when we passed the 100,000 mark. But as you all realize, and will more sharply now that the tax bill is law, the price of everything has gone up and still goes up. On IN FACT we increased salaries—it is a Newspaper Guild shop and the printing is of course union printing—and changed to a cheaper, greyer paper. The margin of a few pennies per subscription, needed for general expenses and promotion, has been cut considerably. Economy is not enough.

We are faced today with this dilemma—either to raise the price of IN FACT or to double its circulation, so that the present price of less than a cent a copy may be maintained. We prefer not to raise the price. But we will be able to avoid raising it only if we double our circulation speedily, so that the tiny margin on each subscription will add up to a sum sufficient to cover general expenses. In short—

We need 250,000 circulation to continue at 50 cents a year.

AND since we are not a profit-making or profit-seeking institution but one devoted to your welfare, which we hope you have noticed in every issue, I have no hesitancy in again calling for help on the Winter Soldier army.

I hope you will feel that getting four or eight or eighty subscriptions is part of the fight. I hope you will feel that merely reading IN FACT and approving the job of presenting the facts, the documentary proof, the truth behind the news, is not enough, and that you want to help the work along. I hope you believe with me that when we get a quarter of a million this year, a million next year, and even more subscribers we will continue to spread the vital facts the commercial press dares not publish, and that we will constitute a force fighting today's Tyranny with the same weapons Tom Paine used. The fight today is just as important.

Serge Sellers